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POLITICAL.

THE CASE OF McLEOD.

Speech of Mr. Benton, of Missouri.

IN SENATE, Monday, June 14th, 1841. On the motion
of Mr. BENTON to refer to much of the President's Message
relating to our Foreign Affairs to the Committee on Foreign
Affairs.

Mr. BENTON would take this opportunity to
express his opinions on the subject before the
Senate, and would take the occasion to say that
he would always choose to speak during the
usual hours of business in the Senate, but if pre-
vented from speaking at such hours, he must have
recourse to those which were unusual, and, at
this season of the year, oppressive. He would
speak in the night if he could not in the day;
refusals to adjourn should not deprive him of his
right. He had a right to speak, and should ex-
ercise that right, not to annoy the Senate or to
delay business, but to discharge his duty to the
country, and to show that he was able and deter-
mined to assert and to vindicate this right.

Mr. B. believed that the gentleman whose cor-
respondence was the subject of discussion, and
who might be considered chiefly interested in it,
(the Secretary of State,) would have no objection
to this discussion; neither to his character nor the
time it would take. That gentleman had done,
at a former extra session, infinitely more than it
was proposed to do now. Mr. B. spoke of the
extra session of May, 1839, called by Mr. Mad-
ison to provide means of carrying on the war, and
so large a proportion of which was consumed in
partisan attacks upon the character and measures
of the Administration. Mr. B. was a young man
at that time, a visitor at Washington, and often
took his stand among other visitors in the crowd
and heated lobby of the House. Standing in
that place, he saw a Representative from the
State of New Hampshire, now the Secretary of
State, (Mr. Webster,) submit his celebrated resolu-
tions against the Administration of Mr. Mad-
ison; and during the month which he remained
at Washington, he heard these resolutions de-
bated, day in and day out, by the whole phalanx
of the Federal party, to the exclusion of the busi-
ness for which Congress was called together, and
to the delay of the supplies which the invaded
and bleeding condition of the country so im-
periously demanded. He heard the mover of the
resolutions deliver his withering denunciations
against his own Government; he saw him fol-
lowed by the solid column of the Federal battal-
ion then in the House; he saw the Democracy,
patient and forbearing, giving them all the time
they would ask, and all the scope they would
take; and no one availed himself more fully of
Democratic forbearance than the mover of the
resolutions himself.

He had time and scope to his heart's content in
attacking his own Government, and that in time
of war, and at a called session of Congress. The
recollection of this must have its effect upon the
mind of him who was then the subject of so much
forbearance. He must be willing, and even
anxious to extend to others the indulgence of
which he has had the benefit. He must be will-
ing that those who pleased should have their time
and scope, (at this extra session of Congress,
called in time of peace to take snap judgments
on the American people,) to arraign an act of
his in which, now as near thirty years ago, he
has the misfortune to appear on the wrong side
of his country's cause.

Mr. B. said the history of our country contin-
ued a warning lesson to gentlemen who take the
side of a Foreign country against their own; he
alluded to the case of Arbuthnot and Ambrister,
seized among the Seminole Indians in 1818, and
hung as outlaws and pirates by the orders of
General Jackson. The news of that execution
was heard with joy by the American people, who
considered these Englishmen as a thousand times
more culpable than the wretched savages whom
they stimulated to the murder of women and
children, and who had abandoned their own
country, and the white race to which they be-
longed, to join savages against a country with
which their own Government was at peace.—
The country heard the news of the execution
with joy; they approved the act of Gen. Jackson.
Not so with the politicians—of the Federal
school especially. They condemned it; partisan
presses attacked it; and when Congress met,
committees of each House of Congress reported
against it—loudly condemned it—and were fol-
lowed by a crowd of speakers. All the phrases
now heard in claiming exemption for McLeod,
and bewailing his fate, were then heard in de-
ploring the fate of Arbuthnot and Ambrister.
Violation of the laws of nations—inhuman—un-
worthy of the nineteenth century—shocking to
humanity—barbarous—uncivilized—subjecting
us to reprisals, and even to war from England—
drawing upon us the reproaches of Christendom,
and even the wrath of Heaven; such were the
holyday phrases with which the two Houses of
Congress then resounded. To hear what was
said, and it would seem that the British Lion
would be instantly upon us. We were taught to
dread for the return news from England.—
Well! it came! and what was it? Not one word
from the British Government against the act of
Jackson! Not the scraps of a pen from a min-
ister on the subject! Not a word in Parliament
except the unimportant complaint of some soliti-
ary members—just enough to show, by the in-
ference with which it was received, that the Brit-
ish House of Commons had no condemnation to
pronounce upon the conduct of General Jackson.
Their silence justified him in England, while
committees and orators condemned him here;

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and this justification from abroad, in case where
two Englishmen were actually hanged, should be
a warning to gentlemen how they should com-
mit themselves in a case where an Englishman
is merely in the hands of justice, and has nothing
to fear from "God and the country" if he is as
innocent as he now alleges, and as humanity
would wish him to be.

Gen. Jackson was right, and the committees
and orators who condemned him were wrong.—
He was right in the law and in the application
of the law. He had no musty volumes of national
law to refer to in the swamps of Florida; and
he had none. He had the law of nature, and
of nations, in his heart. He had an American
heart, and that heart never led him wrong, when
the rights, the interest, and the honor of his
country were at stake. He hung the English-
men who were exciting savages to the murder of
our women and children; and the policy of the
measures is no less apparent than its legality.—
Before that time, Englishmen were eternally in
the ranks of the Indians, stimulating them to
hostilities upon us: since that time no English-
man has been heard of among them. The ex-
ample was wholesome—its effect salutary. It
has given us twenty-five years of exemption from
English interference in our Indian hostilities;
and if the assassins of the Caroline shall be hung
up in like manner, it will give us exemption
from future British outrage along the extended
line which divides the Union from the Canadas.

It is mournful, Mr. President, continued Mr. B.,
to see gentlemen of eminent abilities consulting
books to find passages to justify an outrage upon
their own country. Better far to throw away
the books, and go by the heart. Then, at least,
they would always have the consolation of being
on their country's side. Better even to take the
rule of the illustrious Commodore whose actions
have shed so much lustre upon the American
name, (Decatur,) and go for the country right
or wrong. Then they would always have at
least their hearts on their side. Besides, there
is no book which fits our case—which was writ-
ten for the duplicate Governments which we
possess. We have State Governments as well
as a General Government; and these State au-
thorities have their rights, and are sovereign
within them. The protection of the lives, lib-
erty and property of their citizens, is among these
rights; the punishment of murder, arson, and
burglary, are among the rights of the States. If
there was nothing in the law of nations, as writ-
ten in the books, to recognize these rights, it
would be necessary and proper for us to cause a
new line to be written in these books. But this
is not the case. The law of nations, as they
now stand, is sufficient for us. The passage
quoted from Vattel by the Senator from Penn-
sylvania is pointed and conclusive in our favor;
it applies to the case of McLeod and covers it;
and if we give up that man, upon the demand of
the British Government, we shrink from the de-
fence of right, and suffer the law of nations to
be violated in our persons.

This brings me to the case before us. What
is it? The facts of the case are all spread out
in official documents, and the evidence of them are
clear and undeniable. An American steam ferry
boat traverses the Niagara river; she carries
passengers and property from one shore to the
other. The English believe, and perhaps truly,
that she carries men and arms to the insurgents
in Canada; and without any appeal to our Gov-
ernments, either State or Federal—without ap-
plying to us to put our own laws in force against
her—an English officer, of his own head, with-
out the knowledge of the British Government,
determines to do—what? Not to watch the sus-
pected vessel, arrest her in the fact, seize the
guilty and spare the innocent—but to steal upon
her in the night, board her asleep, and destroy her
at the American shore, under the flag of her
country. In the evening of the meditated out-
rage, volunteers are called for—fifty or sixty
dashing, daring fellows—ready to follow their
leader to the devil, for that was the language;
and it proves the expedition to have been a
diabolical one, and worthy to be led as well as
followed by demons. The arms were sabres
and pistols; the season of attack, midnight;
the means of approach, light boats and muffled oars;
the progress, slow, silent and stealthy, the
suspicions sound should alarm the sleeping vic-
tims. The order was, *death and no quarter*.
Thus prepared and led they approached the boat
in the dead of the night—reach her without dis-
covery—rush on board—fly to the berths—cut,
slash, stab and shoot all whom they see—pursue
the flying, and besides those in the boat, kill one
man at least, upon the soil of his country far
from the water's edge. Victorious in the attack
where there was no resistance, the conquerors
drew the vessel into the midst of the current, set
her on fire, and with all her contents—the dead,
the living, the wounded and the dying—send
her in flames over the frightful catenar of Ning-
ara. McLeod, the man whose release is de-
manded from us, was, (according to his own de-
clarations, made at the time in his own country,
repeated since in ours, and according to the
sworn testimony of one of the survivors,) an ac-
tor in that piratical and cowardly tragedy. Ac-
cording to his own assertions, and the admissions
of his comrades, he was one of the foremost in
that cruel work, and actually killed one of the
"damned Yankees" to use his own words, with
his own hands.

All this was in December of the year 1837. It
filled the country with indignation. It fired the
bosoms of the border settlers on a line of fifteen
hundred miles. Retaliation was in every heart,
threats in every mouth, and war imminent. Mr.
Van Buren was then President. To calm the
spirits of the excited, proclamations were issued
to them. To prevent acts of retaliation, troops

were raised and stationed along the line. To
obtain redress for the outrage to our citizens, and
the insult to our national character, application
was made to the British Government to repair
the wrong that was done. That Government de-
layed its answer to our just demand—avoided
the assumption of the criminal act—excused and
justified without assuming it—rewarded the of-
fenders with titles, pensions and prizes—and
clearly encouraged them to do the like again.—
Diplomacy was still drawing out its lengthened
thread—still weaving its long and dilatory web
—still Penelopising—when the same McLeod,
the bonster in Canada of his active share in this
triple crime of midnight, murder, arson and rob-
bery, crosses over to the American side and re-
appears in the hearing of Americans, and on the
spot which had been the scene of his exploit, the
audacious boast of his participation in it. Jus-
tice then took hold him. The laws of New
York laid their hands upon him; and a grand
jury of the vicinage, on an indictment regularly
preferred, returned a true bill against him. A
trial, of course, was to take place in the courts
of the State whose laws had been violated, whose
citizens had been murdered and robbed, whose
peace had been disturbed, and whose authority
had been set at defiance. The news of this pro-
ceeding flies to the British Minister here: that
Minister addresses a note to the Secretary of
State, (Mr. Forsyth,) demanding the release of
McLeod; and the Secretary answered by the
direction of the then President, (Mr. Van Buren,)
that this man being charged with offences against
the laws of New York, the General Government
had no right to interfere, and should not do so.—
This answer was read in the Senate in January,
last, when most of the present members of the
body were then present—when the present Sec-
retary of State and the present Attorney General
were both present—when all the old Senators
now here were present—and when this response
of Mr. Forsyth, refusing to give up McLeod, or
to interfere with courts of New York, received the
unanimous approbation of this chamber!

Mr. B. repeated the expression, unanimous
approbation! and said he would pause for cor-
rection, if he was mistaken. He paused. Several
Senators exclaimed, "yes, yes."
Mr. B. continued: I remember the reading of
that letter well, and the feeling of unanimous
approbation which pervaded the chamber when
it was read. Every Senator that spoke ex-
pressed his approbation. No one signified dissent;
and the feeling was then universal that the
proper answer had been given by Mr. Forsyth—
the answer which the law of nations, the dignity
of the Union, and the rights of New York re-
quired to be given. If I am wrong in my recol-
lection, I repeat the request, let me be corrected
now.

[Several voices cried out, "right, right." No
one said the contrary.]

Mr. B. resumed: A great point—one vital and
conclusive in this inquiry, is now established.—
It is established, that in the month of January
last, when Mr. Forsyth's letter was read in this
chamber, we were all of one opinion that he had
given the correct and proper answer; and among
the Senators then present were the present Sec-
retary of State, the present Attorney General,
all the old Senators now present, and four fifths
of the whole number now present. In a word,
the Senate was constituted as it now is, with the
exception of nine members who have gone out
and the same number who have come in.

In January last, as we now see, it was the
unanimous sense of the Senate that McLeod
should not be given up—that the course of jus-
tice in New York should not be interrupted; and
this also, I feel justified in saying, was the sense
of the House of Representatives. The McLeod
correspondence was communicated to that body.
Five thousand copies of it were moved to be
printed. A reference to the whole was made to
the Committee on Foreign Relations; and the
judgement of the House appeared to be the same
of that of the Senate.

In the month of January last, it may then be
asserted, that the two Houses of Congress ap-
proved the decision of President Van Buren; and,
according to that decision, McLeod was neither
to be given up, nor the course of justice in New
York interfered with by the Federal Govern-
ment.

Mr. Fox received the answer of Mr. Forsyth,
transmitted it to his Government and received
from that Government precise instructions to
avow and assume the attack on the Caroline as a
national act—to make a peremptory demand for
the release of McLeod—to threaten us with se-
rious consequences in the event of refusal—and,
as the British newspapers said, to demand his
passports and leave the country—if his demand
was not immediately complied with. It was on
the evening of the 4th day of March—the day
of the inauguration of the new President—that
the news of these instructions arrived in this city,
and along with them the war threats and war
speeches of the press and public men of England
—the threat of many papers to send admirals and
war steamers to batter down our cities—and the
diabolical speech of a Peer of the realm in the
House of Lords, [Lord Mountstuart], to excite
our three millions of negroes to insurrection—to
raise all the Indians against us—and to destroy
our finances by bursting the paper bubbles upon
which they floated.

It was on the evening of the 4th day of March
that these insurrections, this demand, this threat,
and all these war announcements, arrived in this
city. The new President had just been inaugu-
rated: his cabinet had just been indicated: the
men who were to compose the Presidential coun-
cil were fully known; and I undertook at once
to tell what would be done. I told to several
some now in this city, if not in this chamber—

McLeod will be given up; not directly, but in-
directly. Underhanded springs will be set in mo-
tion to release him; and a letter will afterwards
be cooked up to show to Congress and the people,
and to justify what had been done. This is what
I said; and now let us resume the narrative of
events—let us follow the current of facts—and
see what was done by the new Administration
which had just been inducted into office in the
midst of triumphal processions, under the fire of
cannon, the beating of drums, the display of flags,
and with all the glorious pomp and circumstance
of war. Let us see what they did.

On the 12th day of March, the new Adminis-
tration having had time to organize, Mr. Fox ad-
dresses to Mr. Webster a formal demand, in the
name of his Government, for the release of Mc-
Leod; and goes on to say—

"The grounds upon which the British Government make
this demand upon the Government of the United States are
these: That the transaction on account of which McLeod has
been arrested, and is to be put upon trial, was a transaction
of a public character, planned and executed by persons duly
empowered by her Majesty's colonial authorities to take any
steps and to use any force which might be necessary for the defence
of her Majesty's territories and for the protection of her Majesty's
subjects; and that consequently those subject of her Majesty
who engaged in that transaction were performing an act of
public duty for which they cannot be made personally and in-
dividually answerable to the laws and tribunals of any Foreign
country."

And after enforcing this demand, by argument,
contesting the answer given by Mr. Forsyth, and
suggesting the innocence of McLeod, the letter
proceeds to say:—

"But, be that as it may, her Majesty's Government formerly
demanded, upon the grounds already stated, the immediate re-
lease of Mr. McLeod, and her Majesty's Government entreat
the President of the United States, to take into his most delib-
erate consideration the serious nature of the consequences which
must ensue from a rejection of this demand."

This letter to Mr. Webster, bears date on the
12th of March, which was Friday, and will
be considered as having been delivered on the
same day. On the 15th of the same month,
which was Monday, Mr. Webster delivers to
the Attorney General of the United States a
set of instructions, and delivers a copy of the
same to Mr. Fox, in which he yields to the de-
mand of this Minister, and despatches the At-
torney General to New York to effect the discharge
of the prisoner. The instructions, among other
things, say:—

"You are well aware that the President has no power to ar-
rest the proceeding in the civil and criminal courts of the State
of New York. If this indictment were pending in one of the
Courts of the United States, I am directed to say that the Pres-
ident, upon the receipt of Mr. Fox's last communication, would
have immediately directed a *nonne prosequi* to be entered."

"Whether in this case the Governor of New York has that
power, or if he have, whether he would feel it his duty to
exercise it, are points upon which we are not informed."

"It is understood that McLeod is hidden also on civil process,
and against him by the owner of the Caroline. We sup-
pose it very clear that the Executive of the State cannot interfere
with such process; and, indeed, if such process were pending
in the courts of the United States, the President could not ac-
cess it. In such and many analogous cases, the party prosecuted
and sued, must avail himself of his exemption or defence, by
judicial proceedings either in the courts into which he is called,
or in some other courts. But whether the process be criminal
or civil, the fact of having acted under public authority, and in
obedience to the orders of lawful superiors, must be regarded
as a valid defence; otherwise, individuals would be held re-
sponsible for injuries resulting from the acts of Government,
and even from the operations of public war."

"You will be furnished with a copy of this instruction, for
the use of the Executive of New York, and the Attorney Gen-
eral of that State. You will carry with you also authentic evi-
dence of recognition by the British Government of the destruction
of the Caroline, as an act of public force, done by national
authority."

"The President is impressed with the propriety of transfer-
ring the trial from the scene of the principal excitement to some
other distant country. You will take care that this be suggest-
ed to the Governor of New York, and the President is gratified to learn
that the Governor of New York has already directed that the
trial take place before the Chief Justice of the State."

"Having consulted with the Governor you will proceed to
Liverpool, or wherever else the trial may be held, and there
attend to the prisoner's counsel with the evidence of which you will
be in possession material to his defence. You will see that he
have skillful and eminent counsel, if it be not already retained;
and, although you are not directed to act as counsel yourself,
you will cause to be appointed to him, and to the gentleman
who may conduct his defence, that it is the wish of this Govern-
ment, that, in case his defence be overruled by the court in
which he shall be tried, proper steps be taken immediately for
removing the cause, by writ of error, to the Supreme Court of
the United States."

"The President hopes that you will use such despatch as to
make your arrival at the place of trial prior to the trial commencing
that of that State. You will keep him informed of whatever occurs
by means of a correspondence through this Department."

A copy of these instructions, as I have said,
were delivered to Mr. Fox, at the time they
were written. At the same moment they were
delivered to the new Attorney General, [Mr.
Crittenden,] who, thus equipped with written
directions for his guide, and accompanied by an
officer of high rank in the United States army,
[Major General Scott,] immediately proceeded
in the business of his mission to the State of New
York, and to the place of the impending trial at
Liverpool. About forty days thereafter, name-
ly, on the 24th day of April, Mr. Webster re-
plied to Mr. Fox's letter of the 12th of March;
elaborately reviews the case of McLeod—jus-
tifies the instructions—absolves the subject—and
demands nothing from the sovereign who had
assumed his office.

Thus, what I had said on the evening of the
4th of March had come to pass. Underhanded
springs had been set in motion to release the
man; a letter was afterwards cooked up to jus-
tify the act.

"This, sir, is the narrative of the case—the
history of it down to the point at which it now
stands; and upon this case I propose to make
some remarks, and, in the first place, to examine
into the legality and the propriety of the mis-
sion in which our Attorney General was em-
ployed. I mean this as a preliminary inquiry,
unconnected with the general question, and sol-
ely relating to the sending of our Attorney Gen-
eral into any State to interfere in any business
in its courts. I believe this mission of Mr. Crit-
tenden to New York was illegal and improper—
a violation of our own statutes, and will test it
by referring to the law under which the office of
Attorney General was created, and the duties of

the office defined. That law was passed in 1790,
and is in these words:—

"And there shall also be appointed a most person, learned
in the law, to act as Attorney General of the United States,
who shall be sworn, or affirmed, to a faithful execution of his
office; whose duty it shall be to prosecute and conduct all suits
in the Supreme Court in which the United States shall be con-
cerned, and to give his advice and opinion upon questions of
law, when required by the President of the United States, or
when requested by any of the heads of the Departments, touch-
ing any matters that may concern their departments; and shall
receive such compensation for his services as shall be by law
provided."

Here, said Mr. Benton, are the duties of the
Attorney General. He is subject to no orders
whatever from the Secretary of State. That
Secretary has nothing to do with him except to
request his legal advice, on a matter which con-
cerns his department. Advice on a question of
municipal law was doubtless what was intended;
but no advice of any kind seems to have been
asked of the Attorney General. He seems to
have been treated as the official subordinate of
the Secretary—as his clerk or messenger—and
sent off with "instructions" which he was to
read and to execute. This was certainly an il-
legal assumption of authority over the Attorney
General, an assumption which the statute does
not recognize. In the next place, this officer is
sent into a State court to assist at the defence of
a person on trial in that court for a violation of
the State laws, and is directed to employ emi-
nent and skillful counsel for him—to furnish him
with evidence—to suggest a change of venue—
and to take a writ of error to the Supreme Court
of the United States, if the defence of the pris-
oner be overruled by the State Court. If brought
to the Supreme Court by this writ of error—a
novel application of the writ it must be admit-
ted—then the Attorney General is to appear in
this Court for the prisoner, not to prosecute him
in the name of the United States, but to dismiss
the writ. Now, it is very clear that all this is
foreign to the duty of the Attorney General—
foreign to his office—disrespectful and injurious
to the State of New York—incompatible with
her judicial independence—and tending to bring
the General Government and the State Govern-
ment into collision. McLeod, a foreigner, is
under prosecution in a State court for the murder
of its citizens; the importance of the case has
induced the Governor of the State, as he has
officially informed its Legislature, to direct the
Attorney General of the State to repair to the
spot, and to prosecute the prisoner in person;
and here is the Attorney General of the United
States sent to the same place to defend the same
person against the Attorney General of the State!
The admonition of Mr. Crittenden, that he was
not desired to act as counsel himself, was an ad-
mission that he ought not so to act—that all he
was doing was illegal and improper—and that he
should not carry the impropriety so far as to
make it public by making a speech. He was to
oppose the State without publicly appearing to
do so; and, as for his duty in the Supreme Court
of the United States, he was to violate that out-
right, by acting for the accused, instead of pro-
secuting for the United States! From all this I
hold it to be clear, that our Attorney General has
been illegally and improperly employed in this
business; that all that he has done, and all the
expense that he has incurred, and the face he may
have promised, are not only without law, but
against law; and that the rights of the State of
New York have not only been invaded and in-
fringed in this interference in a criminal trial, but
that the rights and interests of the owners of the
Caroline, who have brought a civil action against
McLeod for damages for the destruction of their
property, have been also gratuitously assailed in
that part of the Secretary's instructions in which
he declares that such civil suit cannot be main-
tained. I consider the mission as illegal in it-
self, and involving a triple illegality, first, as it
concerns the Attorney General himself, who was
sent to a place where he had no right to go; next
as it concerns the State of New York, as inter-
fering with her administration of justice; and,
thirdly, as it concerns the owners of the Caro-
line, who have sued McLeod for damages, and
whose suit is declared to be unattainable.

I now proceed, Mr. President, to the main in-
quiry in this case, the correctness and propriety
of the answer given by our Secretary of State to
Mr. Fox, and its compatibility with the honor,
dignity, and future welfare of this Republic.

I took upon the "instructions," which were
given to Mr. Crittenden, and a copy of which
were sent to Mr. Fox, as being the answer to
that Minister; and I deem the letter entitled an
answer, and dated forty days afterwards, as be-
ing a mere afterpiece—an article for home con-
sumption—a speech for Buncombe, as we say of
our addresses to our constituents—a pleading in-
tended for us, and not for the English, and whol-
ly designed to excuse and defend the real answer
so long before, and so promptly given. I will
give some attention to this, so called, letter, be-
fore I quit the case; but for the present my busi-
ness is with the "instructions," a copy of which
being delivered to Mr. Fox, was THE ANSWER
to his DEMAND; and as such was transmitted
to the British Government, and quoted in the
House of Commons as being entirely satisfac-
tory. This quotation took place on the 6th day
of May, several days before the, so called, letter
of the 24th of April could possibly have reached
London. Lord John Russell, in answer to a
question from Mr. Hume, referred to these in-
structions as being satisfactory, and silenced all
further inquiry about the affair, by showing that
they had all they wanted.

I hold these instructions to have been errone-
ous, in point of national law, derogatory to us in
point of national character, and tending to the
future degradation and injury of this Republic.

That the Secretary has mistaken the law of
the case in consenting to the release of McLeod
is persuasively shown by referring to the opin-
ions of the two Houses of Congress in January
last. Their opinions were then unanimous in
favor of Mr. Forsyth's answer; and that answer
was a peremptory refusal either to admit that
McLeod ought to be released, or to interfere in
his behalf with the Courts of New York. The
reasons urged by Mr. Fox in his letter to Mr. For-
syth for making the demand, were precisely the
same with those subsequently given in the letter
to Mr. Webster. The only difference in the two
demands was in the formality of the latter, being
under instructions from his Government, and in

the treat which it contained. In other respects the same demands were the same; so that, at the outset of this inquiry, we have the opinions of the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the body of their friends in the two Houses of Congress to plead against themselves.

A next refer to the arguments which have been used by my friends who have preceded me especially the opening speech of the Senator from Pennsylvania, [Mr. Buchanan,] and his pertinent and conclusive quotation from Vattel. The whole argument was close and pointed; and the quotation was absolutely irresistible. It was in these words:—

"However, as it is impossible for the least regulated State, or for the most vigilant and absolute sovereign to model at his pleasure all the actions of his subjects, and to confine them to every occasion to the most exact obedience, it would be unjust to impute to the nation or the sovereign every fault committed by the citizens. We ought not, then, to say, in general, that we have received an injury from a nation, because we have received it from one of its members."

"But if a nation or its chief approves and ratifies the act of the individual, it then becomes a public concern and the injury of the individual is then considered as the real injury of the nation, of which the citizen was perhaps, only the instrument."

"If the offended State has in her power the individual who has done the injury, she may, without scruple, bring him to justice and punish him. If he has escaped, and returned to his own country, she ought to apply to his sovereign to have justice done in the case."

This is the case before us. The malefactor is taken, and is in the hands of justice. His imputed crime is murder, arson and robbery. His Government, by assuming his crime, cannot absolve his guilt, nor defeat our right to try and punish him according to law. The assumption of his act only adds to the number of the culpable, and gives us an additional offender to deal with them, if we choose. We may proceed against one or both; but to give up the individual when we have him, without redress from the nation, which justifies him, is to throw away the advantage which chance or fortune has put into our hands, and to make a virtual, if not actual, surrender, of all claim to redress whatsoever.

The law of nations is clear, and the law of the patriots heart is equally clear. The case needs no book, no more than the hanging of Arbuthnot and Ambrister required the justification of books when General Jackson was in the hammocks and marshes of Florida. A band of foreign volunteers, without knowing what they were going to do, but ready to follow their leader to the devil, steal across a boundary river in the night attack unarmed people asleep upon the soil, and under the flag of their Country, give no quarter—make no prisoners—distinguish not between young and old—innocent or guilty—kill all—add fire to the sword—send the vessel and its contents over the falls in flames—and run back under cover of the same darkness which has concealed their approach. All this in time of peace. And then to call this an act of war, for which the perpetrators are not amenable, and for which redress must be had by fighting or negotiating with the nation to which they belong. This is absurd. It is futile and ridiculous. Common sense condemns it. The heart condemns it. Jackson's example in Florida condemns it, and we should render ourselves contemptible if we took any such weak and puerile course.

Mr. Fox no where says this act was done by the sovereign's command. He shows, in fact, that it was not so done; and we know that it was not. It was the act of volunteers, unknown to the British Government until it was over, and unassumed by them for three years after it occurred. The act occurred in December, 1837; our Minister, Mr. Stevenson, demanded redress for it in the Spring of 1838. The British Government did not then assume it, nor did they assume it at all until McLeod was caught. Then, for the first time, they assume and justify, and evidently for the mere purpose of extricating McLeod. The assumption is void. Governments cannot assume the crimes of individuals. It is only as a military enterprise that this offence can be assumed; and we know this affair was no such enterprise, and is not even represented as such by the British minister. He calls it a "transaction." Three times in one paragraph he calls it a "transaction," and who ever heard of a fight, or a battle, being characterised as a transaction? We apply the term to an affair of business, but never to a military operation. How can we have a military operation without war? without the knowledge of the sovereign? without the forms and preliminaries which the laws of nations exact? This was no military enterprise in form, or in substance. It was no attack upon a fort, or a ship of war, or a body of troops. It was no attack of soldiers upon soldiers, but of assassins upon the sleeping and the defenceless. Our American defenders of this act go beyond the British in exalting it into a military enterprise. They take different ground, and higher ground, than the British, in setting up that defence; and are just as wrong now as they were in the case of Arbuthnot and Ambrister.

Incorrect in point of national law, I hold these instructions to have been derogatory to us in point of national character, and given with most precipitate haste when they should not have been given at all. They were given under a formal, deliberate official threat from the minister; and a thousand unofficial threats from high and respectable sources. The minister says:—

"But, be that as it may, her Majesty's Government formally demanded, upon the grounds already stated, the immediate release of Mr. McLeod; and her Majesty's Government cannot but consider the serious nature of the consequences which must ensue from a rejection of this demand."

Nothing could be more precise and formal than this demand—nothing more significant and palpable than this menace. It is such as should have prevented any answer—such as should have suspended diplomatic intercourse—until it was withdrawn. Instead of that, a most sudden and precipitate answer is given; and one that grants all that the British demanded, and more too; and that without asking any thing from them. It is given with a haste which seems to preclude the possibility of regular deliberation, cabinet council, and official form. The letter of Mr. Fox bears date the 12th of March, which was Friday, and may have been delivered in office hours of that day. The instruction to Mr. Crittenden was delivered on the 15th of March, which was Monday, and a copy delivered to Mr. Fox. This was the answer to the demand and the threat; and thus the answer was given in two

days; for Sunday, as the lawyers call it, is *die non*; that is to say, no day for business; and it is hardly to be presumed that an Administration which seems to be returning to the Church and State times of Queen Ann, had the office of the Department of State open, and the Clerks at their desks on Sundays, instead of being in their pews at church. The answer, then, was given in two days, and this incontinent haste to comply with a threat contrasts wonderfully with the delay—the forty days delay—before the letter was written which was intended for home consumption; and which, doubtless, was considered as written in good time, if written in time to be shown Congress at this extra session.

Sir, I hold it to have been derogatory to our national character to have given any answer at all, much less the one that was given, while a threat was hanging over our heads. What must be the effect of yielding to demands under such circumstances? Certainly degradation—national degradation—and an encouragement to Great Britain to continue her aggressive course upon us. That nation is pressing us in the Northeast and Northwest; she is searching our ships on the coast of Africa; she gives liberty to our slaves wrecked on her islands in their transit from one of our ports to another; she nurtured in London the Societies which produced the San Domingo insurrection, and which are preparing a similar insurrection for us, and she is the mistress of subjects who hold immense debts against our States, and for the payment of which the national guarantee, or the public lands, are wanted. She has many points of aggressive contact upon us; and what is the effect of this tame submission—this abject surrender of McLeod, without a word of redress for the affair of the Caroline, and under a public threat—what is the effect of this but to encourage her to press us and threaten us on every point? It must increase her arrogance, and encourage her encroachments, and induce her to go on until submission to further outrage becomes impossible, and war results from the cowardice which courage would have prevented. On this head the history of many nations is full of impressive lessons, and none more so than that of Great Britain. It is a nation of brave people; but they have sometimes had ministers who were not brave, and whose timidity has ended in involving their country in all the calamities of war, after subjecting it to all the disgrace of pusillanimous submission to Foreign insult. The Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, long, cowardly, and corrupt—tyrannical at home and cringing abroad—was a single instance of this, and, as a warning to ourselves, I will read a passage from English history to show his conduct, and the consequences of it. I read from Smollett, and from his account of the Spanish depredations, and insults upon English subjects, which were continued the whole term of Walpole's Administration, and ended in bringing on the universal war which raged throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and cost the English people so much blood and treasure. The historian says:—

"The merchants of England complained loudly of these outrages; the nation was filled with resentment, and cried for vengeance; but the minister appeared cold, phlegmatic, and timorous. He knew that a war would involve him in such difficulties as must necessarily endangers his administration. The facilities as most necessary for domestic purposes, and in that case he expended in military armaments; the wheels of that machine on which he had raised his influence would no longer move; the opposition would of consequence gain ground; and the imposition of fresh taxes, necessary for the maintenance of the war, would fill up the measure of popular resentment against his person and ministry. Moved by these considerations, he industriously endeavored to avoid a rupture, and to obtain some sort of satisfaction by dint of money, and negotiations, in which he betrayed his own fears in such a degree as unaltered the Spaniards to persist in their depredations, and encouraged the court of Madrid to disregard the remonstrances of the British Ambassador."

Such is the picture of Walpole's foreign policy; and how close is the copy we are now presenting of it! Under the scourge of Spanish outrage, he was cold, phlegmatic, and timorous; and such is the conduct of our Secretary under British outrage. He wanted the public treasure for party purposes, and neglected the public defences. Our Ministry want the public lands, and leave the Union without forts and ships. Walpole sought some sort of satisfaction by dint of negotiation; our Minister does the same. The British Minister at Madrid was paralyzed by the timidity of the Cabinet at home; so is ours paralyzed at London by our submission to Mr. Fox here. The result of the whole was, accumulated outrage, coalitions against England, universal war, the disgrace of the Minister, and the elevation of the man to the highest place in his country, and to the highest pinnacle of glory, whom Walpole had dismissed from the lowest place in the British army—that of colonel of horse—for the political offence of voting against him. The elder William Pitt—the dismissed coronet—conducted with glory and success the war which the timidity of Walpole began; and, that the smallest circumstances might not be wanting to the completeness of the parallel, our prime Minister here has commenced his career with issuing an order for treating our military and naval officers as Pitt was treated by Walpole, and for the same identical offence!

[CONCLUDED ON THE FOURTH PAGE.]

THE McLEOD CASE.
The New York New World, (conducted by a Whig,) after mentioning the decision of the New York Court against discharging McLeod, says:

"There is one painful circumstance connected with this controversy, of which we feel heartily ashamed. We refer to the position in which this decision leaves Mr. Webster. He is not only convicted, as we think, of gross misconstruction of the law, but he is also committed to a line of policy which he cannot prosecute."

The same paper adds:

"Whether Mr. Webster be right in the point of law or not, he was guilty of a most reckless indiscretion in publishing such an opinion in an official communication to the British Government, when he knew that in a few days the Supreme Court were to sit in solemn argument upon the question, and some of the ablest counsel in the State had staked their professional reputation upon an opinion directly the reverse. We shall be glad to see him extricate himself with-

out further compromising the dignity of the Ministry which he heads. We think it a task which will require the exercise of all his powers."

OXFORD DEMOCRAT.
PARIS, JULY 27, 1841.

FOR GOVERNOR,
JOHN FAIRFIELD.

Oxford Democratic Convention.
THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS of the several Towns and Plantations in the County of Oxford, and also the Towns and Plantations composing the Oxford Senatorial District, are requested to send Delegates to a Convention to be held at the Court House in Paris, on Wednesday, the eighteenth day of August next, at ten o'clock, A. M. for the purpose of selecting candidates for Senators, County Treasurer, and Register of Deeds, to be supported at the ensuing election.

All Towns and Plantations which give fifty Democratic votes, or a less number, will send one Delegate, over fifty and under one hundred and twenty-five two, over one hundred and twenty-five and under two hundred and fifty, three; over two hundred and fifty and less than four hundred, four; over four hundred, five Delegates.

Per Order of the County Committee.
Paris, June 21, 1841.

MR. BENTON'S SPEECH.
The speech of Mr. Benton on the McLeod case will be found in to-day's paper. Notwithstanding its length, we hope our readers will give it an attentive and careful perusal. The management of our foreign relations, at the present time, is a subject of deep interest to all lovers of our country's interest, honor and integrity. Mr. Webster's letter to Mr. Fox, and his instructions to the Attorney General, have induced the very general belief that the present administration has committed an egregious error, and compromised the honor of the nation to the prejudice of England; and this belief is the more firmly established by the decision of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. The facts in the case, as recapitulated by Mr. Benton and other Senators, are overwhelming to Mr. Webster, and force conviction on the mind that he is not a better friend to his country now than during the last war.

Mr. Fox's letter to Mr. Webster, is derogatory to us in its terms and insulting in its spirit, and such a letter as he would not have ventured to indite to Mr. Forsyth, for it would not have been answered or he would have been permitted to leave the country. But Mr. Fox knew his man, and that his demand was made of a changed administration; hence his change of manner and arrogance, so insulting to us as a nation, and so cowardly complied with. Mr. Webster interested himself for this British murderer, because Mr. Fox threatened serious consequences if it were not done. How humiliating! How dishonorable to yield to the demand before that threat was withdrawn, or even at all. Mr. Benton does justice to this subject, and exhibits the soiled plumes in Mr. Webster's cap too plainly to be mistaken,—that he is thoroughly British at heart. If our Boundary question is managed in the same manner, it will not be long before the whole "disputed territory" will be ceded to England. She will only have to demand the cession, and "threaten serious consequences," if not complied with, and our just inheritance, secured by the blood and treasure of our forefathers, will be transferred to England. We hope our readers will peruse the speech, if for no other reason, that they may properly understand the manner in which our foreign relations are conducted.

If the ex-officio holders do not get their fingers into the Treasury again to the tune of ten dollars a day, it will not be from want of effort. We see they have renewed the Lincoln Patriot at Waldoborough, which has been suspended four months. They have started the Skowhegan Sentinel again, which had been stopped for want of patronage, and the Oxford Democrat at Paris. These papers are of course without subscribers, and are started again with somebody's money. Whose is it? Let the tax-paying people take care it shall not be theirs.

The above is from the Kennebec Journal, one of the most mendacious Federal prints published in New England. We would inform the Editor of the Journal that the money for the support of the Democrat comes from the hard hands and huge paws of the Democracy of "Old Oxford." It is not dependent on the State and National Treasury for support. "Of course without subscribers." Tell another, Mr. Journal, before the last "gets cold."

DECAPITATIONS. The work of decapitation, "for opinion's sake," under the present administration, goes on with the speed of a steam engine. Our head is off, smacked and smooth, but we have plenty of good company and die in a good cause. Since Norris, Esq., is appointed Postmaster in this place. In Norway, Wm. Reed, Esq. has been removed and G. J. Ordway appointed. Dixfield, Col. S. Morrill has been removed and H. Farwell appointed. Andover, Jas. F. Bragg, Jr. Esq. removed, L. Crockett appointed. Turner, Gen. P. Clark removed, J. Blake appointed. Fryeburg, Hon. E. L. Osgood removed, Asa Charles appointed. Preaching for twelve years and practice in six months. Verily, consistency is a jewel!

Mr. Editor,—I would inform your correspondents, "Tyro," that I have not done speaking, consequently he has no right to begin. He has not heard me through, therefore he ought not to presume on the strength of my argument. But I am glad, on the whole, that he makes his objections as we go along; for it is easier to maintain a running fight than to come to close battle. I perceive by "Tyro's" communication that we agree in some things and disagree in others. He thinks if there can be any benefit derived from a change of the Constitution, we ought to make the change; and if there is no benefit to be derived we ought to be slow to alter that sacred guardian of our rights. Here we agree. But there is a little want of combativeness in this language. It partakes more of fear than hope. It indicates that alterations must be proved to be useful before an experiment is made.

If such were the prevailing sentiments among political economists and men of Science, I apprehend that improvements would be at an end.

Amendments have been made to the Constitution of the United States. Few would say that those amendments were not beneficial; and it is not just as reasonable to entertain and, if we please, to adopt an amendment to our State Constitution as it has been to entertain and adopt amendments of the United States Constitution? Or shall we consider our Constitution perfect, and call it sacrilege to alter and improve it? To do so, would be to desert the highway of perfection. Innovations are innovations, and improvements are improvements, and because the adoption of the former as such, are useless, it affords no reason why the latter should not be useful and consequently that they should be abandoned.

What is the reason that the argument that other States have adopted the method of choosing State officers biennially is not suited to the latitude of Maine? "Tyro" says, "it is not suited to reason from analogy when our wishes and interests are concerned." What is the reason? Are not our public interests analogous? Are not the subjects of Legislation, in every essential, except slavery, similar to those of other States? This is so obvious that no argument need be adduced to prove it. Then, why say it is not safe to reason from analogy? It is evident enough what the reason is. It is because the argument cannot be gotten round, consequently it must be rooted up.

The inference which I wished to be drawn from the fact that a great number of States chose their officers once in two or more years, when understood as intended, will not, as "Tyro" thinks, carry the argument of analogy too far, or prove too much. The only deduction I made from this fact, was that as it was safe for other States to elect their State officers for two or even more years, so it was equally safe for us to elect once in two years. I did not wish to carry the idea that because some States elected a part or all their officers once in three or four years, or that because there was a monarchy or a despotism is some part of creation, the same accidents or rather disasters were to come upon the State of Maine, and that too surely because we wish to double the official tenure.

"Tyro" shows a great fondness for criticism, and I have no doubt he is an excellent critic. For he is possessed in an eminent degree of powerful discrimination, and a wonderful degree of abstraction. He can separate one half of an idea from its fellow, and by some principle of mathematics make a whole of either half. For instance, he undertakes to quote my meaning in the first part of his third paragraph, and says "that a man who could neither read, write or spell correctly" would do very well for an annual Representative, but if he was to be elected biennially a much better would be selected." This is not my meaning, and I wish to have "Tyro" understand that I shall not own his progeny. The meaning which he has given to my language, is similar to this: that if a man, who could neither read, write or spell correctly, could be elected annually, he would do better if he could be elected biennially. This difficulty of construction arises from a wrong use of verbs in their modes and tenses. Consequently even critics may need correction.

Mr. Editor, I feel highly gratified to think that my communications are worthy the criticisms of "Tyro." I regret only one thing in his communication, and that is, that he has acted too much the part of a mere objector, and seized upon the weakest points in my arguments, with one or two exceptions. Try again, "Tyro," and show the advantages of your side of the question. I still believe, that although a Whig Legislature proposed the amendments which are to be submitted to the people, they are, so far as biennial elections are concerned, safe, expedient, convenient, and therefore beneficial.

FROM THE EASTERN ARGUMENT.
THE LONG SESSION.

The session of the Maine Legislature last winter continued 102 days, and was the longest, as our readers know, which has ever been had in the State.

The Review of the proceedings of that Legislature recently published by a "Citizen of Maine," furnishes some reasons for this extraordinary delay.

It shows that one or two days were lost, at the beginning of the session, in a foolish quarrel among the Federalists, about the speakership of the House.

It shows that several days were lost in the organization of the Valuation Committee, in whose charge was placed the most laborious business of the session. It was not organized until the Legislature had been in session fourteen days. It shows that more than a week's time was uselessly spent in the various debates upon that notorious humbug the County Officer Bill. It shows that one or two days were spent in passing some resolutions, for no other or better purpose than to catch Senator Williams in a trap, and did not catch any body after all. It shows that four days were wasted upon a foolish quarrel that grew out of the passage of these humbug resolutions. On the 23rd of February, when a Protest against the resolves was offered in the House, it was found that forty Federal Representatives were absent, when the body. This minority in order to prevent the protest from going upon the journals of the House, actually ran away, and left the House the whole day, without a quorum. The Federalists then, (having mustered their forces) consumed three days in a mock trial upon a breach of decorum, committed under great provocation, by one of their opponents, while they said nothing at all about those of their friends who ab-

sconded from their seats, and refused to obey a lawful precept requiring them to return.

It shows that, in the Senate, on the 3d and 5th of April, "no business was transacted for want of a quorum."

It shows that some fifteen or twenty members of the Legislature have obtained offices during the year, either under the General or State Government; and justly says that the list is doubtless, far from being perfect.

These facts commend themselves strongly to the people's consideration. They show a neglect of public business by the Legislature, last winter, which cannot easily be excused. The Federalists promised to signalize their enjoyment of power, by works of "retrenchment and reform"—but we appeal to truth to say whether the "spoils of office"—have not progressed their chief attention, and whether they have economized to the extent of a single dollar of the public money! Let the honest men who were seduced into the support of Federalism, last fall, compare its *profession* then, with its *practice* now, and ask themselves, in all candor and seriousness, if they have not been deceived!

NO MEDDLING WITH POLITICS.

A man who simply uses his own personal influence can do no comparatively little, but a man who has charge of a public press is situated so as to exercise the influence of hundreds in a private capacity. The doctrine of the friends of the State and National Administrations is, that a public officer who uses his influence, politically, ought to be removed from office, belong to which political party he may. Our present Clerk of the Courts for Waldo, was rewarded for his political speechifying in the Tippecanoe Club and in the adjoining taverns, last year. For this, he was made clerk. He is now a public officer and the party in power say none such should meddle with politics; yet the Clerk of the Courts for Waldo, is now editor of a federal or administration paper, laboring with assiduity, to sustain his party, right or wrong, that he may retain his office. He is electioneering incessantly. Here we see federal practice along side of precept.—Thus do their professions and practice ever bare comparison.

Profession against Practice.

The Clerk of the Courts for Waldo, before he got office, declared he would not support his own party unless they gave the election of County officers to the people. His party had the power, and the Democracy all voted for it, still the bill was defeated; and still the clerk is editor of a federal paper, zealously electioneering for his party and his office.

Profession against Practice.

Who does not remember the whining of the Political Priests and Deacons about the Blood Hounds in Florida? For nothing more, said the Pious Hypocrites, joined by the whole federal pack, the barbarous and savage act of introducing Blood Hounds to worry and tear the poor Indians, the Administration ought to be changed. It turned out that Van Buren had nothing to do with the introduction of the Hounds, but as soon as he learned they were brought he commanded that they should not be used unless they were muzzled and led. Gov. Call, who obtained them, declared if muzzled and led, would do no good, and at once deserted Van Buren and went over to conskins. As soon as the federal party got into power they reinstated Call as Gov. of the Territory of Florida. The Pious Parsons and Deacons have no word of complaint against the Blood Hound Call—their saintly horror has all evaporated. The Clerk of the Courts also, felt bad about the Hounds but has become reconciled, we suppose, else from his editorial pen we should hear.

Profession against Practice.

Before the election we were told that the N. E. Boundary should be at once adjusted and Maine have her due. Webster, two years ago, last February, would, if he had power, take full possession of the Territory on the then next 4th of July. He is now Secretary of State. What does he recommend? Aye, what does he? What did our last federal Legislature? and what is Gov. Kent doing? So very peaceably disposed has our government become that England thinks it worth while to retain upon the Territory not above 30 soldiers, as we understand. Great Britain well knows that the councils which prevail in this Government would sacrifice territory and honor than put in jeopardy a little navigation and trade and a few houses on the sea-board— Belfast Journal.

THE FEDERAL WHIG PARTY.

Find a federalist who is old enough to have acted during the war, that now acts with the self-styled whigs, and ask him if he has ever changed his politics he will answer NO. We can name 47 in this town who formerly voted the federal ticket, every one now whigs, and all say they have never changed. But find an individual who now acts with the Democratic party, but who once voted the federal ticket, and ask him if he has ever changed, and he will admit it.

In every considerable town in the Union may be found more men who formerly acted with the federalists, but who are now whigs, and say they have never changed, who, once acted with the feds, and every one of the latter will say he has changed. Webster and Clay once were opposite politicians—now they are together. Which has changed? Webster was never accused of it. Yet one or the other must have changed. Clay was once a Democrat, yet he is now with Webster; who has not changed?

The whigs are in favor of all the measures of the old Federal party, and all of them boast that they support now the measures they ever have. The man who will tell you the Whig party is not the old Federal party, or the present Democratic party is, will not scruple to tell you a falsehood whenever he finds it for his interest. The reason they have so often changed their name is, because their federal principles make every name odious which they assume.—*Belfast Journal.*

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS.

WEDNESDAY, July 14.

IN SENATE.—Mr. Linn talked through the morning hour on the subject of removals. Mr. Clay presented a memorial from New York, in favor of a Bankrupt Law. Three bills were received from the House—that for the support of pauper inmates, and the two bills for the payment of Navy Pensions, and the purchase of ordnance. They were referred—the first to the Committee of the Whole—the last to the Naval Committee.

The Fiscal Bank Bill was then taken up. An amendment was offered by Mr. Clay of Alabama, and amended by Mr. Clay of Kentucky. It provides that the bills of the bank shall not be received during suspension, and that such suspension shall be a cause of forfeiture of charter.

Mr. Benton offered two amendments which were rejected. One was to strike out the clause forbidding the establishment of any other bank during the continuance of this, and the other proposed to reduce the rate of interest on loans to 5 per cent.

An amendment was adopted, providing that if a suspension takes place during the recess of Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury shall provide other custody for the public money.

Mr. Clay of Kentucky, from the committee on Finance, reported the House bill, authorizing a loan of \$12,000,000. He expressed the hope that it might be immediately acted on.

IN THE HOUSE.—Mr. Young of New York, spoke his hour upon the McLeod resolution. He dissented from the grounds taken by the President in the instructions to Mr. Crittenden, and expressed his hope that the course of justice in the case might not be retarded.

The Speaker laid before the House a message from the President, submitting a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, in reply to the call for information as to the seizures of American merchantmen by British armed cruisers.

The House resolved itself into a Committee, and took up the bill "making appropriations for various fortifications, for ordnance, and suppressing Indian hostilities." After various amendments and debates, the Committee rose and reported progress, and the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, July 15.

IN SENATE.—During the morning hour, Mr. Clay gave notice that he would move to put aside the special order—the National Bank—and take up the bill to create a National Debt—the Loan Bill.

Mr. Calhoun opposed the motion to take up the Loan Bill. The Bank bill ought to be prosecuted to the final decision. The exigencies of the Treasury were great, he would recommend an issue of Treasury Notes.

Mr. Clay said the policy of issuing Treasury Notes belonged to the last administration, and not to this. Mr. C. also spoke of the delay of public business by the opposition, and remarked that the reason of the delay in the Senate, was, that the minority governed it.

Mr. King said the Senator complained of three weeks and a half having been lost in amending his bill. Was not the Senator aware that it was himself and his friends had consumed most of that time? But now that the minority had to take it up, the Senate is told there must be a gag law. Did he understand that it was the intention of the Senator to introduce that measure?

Mr. Clay. I will, sir; I will.

Mr. King. I call the Senator, then, that he may make his arrangements at his boarding house for the winter.

Mr. Clay. Very well, sir.

Mr. King. Did not the Senator, in the beginning of the session, press forward his favor of his measure, the Bank Bill, "removing the rubbish," as he called the Sub-Treasury, declaring that it could not be delayed a moment, in order to give the people this Bank Bill? If there was real necessity for it then, it existed still. He (Mr. King) to test that point, was ready, and he would undertake to make the proposition for his friends, to get through with their amendments to-day and to-morrow, or Monday at farthest. No; that would not do. The Senator did not now want to risk that. Some of his friends were absent, they must be waited for. With whom then was the delay?

He (Mr. King) was truly sorry to see the honorable Senator so far forgetting what was

due to the Senate as to talk of coercing it by any possible abridgement of its free action. The freedom of debate had never yet been abridged in that body since the foundation of this Government. Was it fit or becoming, after fifty years of untroubled liberty, to threaten it with a gag law? He could tell the Senator that, peaceable as a man as he (Mr. King) was, whenever it was attempted to violate that sanctuary, he, for one, would resist that attempt even unto the death. Perhaps all this was uncalled for; but the occasion would be some excuse.

Mr. Benton said: He understood it was in contemplation to introduce the previous question into the Senate, not only in its ordinary proceedings, but in Committee of the Whole. It was easy to see how a bill would be amended then. He would consider an attempt to rule the Senate, by the despotism of the gag, as bad as introducing a band of soldiers into it to force measures through, by pitching opposing Senators out of the windows. Lewis the XIV. once finding it difficult to carry the registration of an edict in one of the French chambers, stood in the hall with his baton, and his whip in his hand, till it was done. But he had the grace to repeat in after life—for he was a young man when he did it. But the moment a whip is introduced into this chamber, he would consider his Legislative life extinguished. He had risen to propose to the friends of the Bank bill that they should proceed with it. He would undertake for himself and friends to be ready to take the vote on Monday at farthest.

Mr. Linn said, if the Senator from Kentucky, was in such a critical condition as to be obliged to say he cannot get his measures through without cutting off debates, why does he not accept the proposition of taking the vote on his Bank bill on Monday? The Senator is aware that Whiggery is dying off in the country, and that there is no time to be lost; unless he and his friends pass these measures they are ruined. All he should say to him was, pass them if he could. If, in order to do it, he is obliged to come on with his gag-law, he (Mr. Linn) would say to his friends, let them meet him like men. He was not so threatening, but if he was obliged to meet the crisis, he would do it as became him.

The Senate then went into Executive Session, and soon after adjourned.

The nomination of Colonel Chambers as Governor of Iowa, Mr. Montgomery as Postmaster at Philadelphia, and Mr. Riddle, Postmaster at Pittsburg, were confirmed during the Executive session.

IN THE HOUSE.—The committee of the Whole then took up the fortification bill, and Mr. Clifford of Maine insisted upon the amendment offered by him on yesterday, to appropriate 6,600 for the forts in Portland harbor.

Mr. Profit of Indiana said the members of the majority felt unpleasantly. They wanted to vote right, but did not know how unless taught by the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. Fillmore undertook to prove that there were new forts wanted in other parts of the country and that they should be built before the ones alluded to in this amendment.

Mr. Fessenden of Maine, said that as the Secretary of War had not recommended this appropriation, he would not consent to have it crowded into this bill. The amendment was then rejected without a count.

MONDAY, July 19.

IN SENATE.—A message was received from the President, recommending a revival of the neutrality law, which is about to expire, by limitation.

The loan bill was taken up, and four able speeches were made in opposition to it, by Messrs. Calhoun, Nicholson, Woodbury and Benton. Mr. Clay briefly rejoined, after some further conversation between Messrs. Clay, Woodbury and Calhoun, the question was taken, and the bill was passed—yeas 23, nays 20.

The Fiscal Bank Bill came next in order, but without discussing it, the Senate adjourned.

IN THE HOUSE. (In Committee.) The Fortification Bill was further debated. By resolution it was to be taken out of Committee on Tuesday.

Mr. McKay spoke for it, and Mr. Mason against it.

Mr. Littlefield, of Maine, now obtained the floor. He criticized the conduct of gentlemen who, under the one hour rule, felt bound to speak the hour out, whether they had any thing to say or not. Mr. L. showed that the member from the Cumberland District, Mr. Fessenden, had opposed the introduction of an amendment to appropriate \$6,600 to repair the forts in Portland harbor, much to his astonishment; and he hinted that this bill had been considered in the Committee of the whole on the state of the Whig party, and that it was not considered necessary by the majority to consider the bill in the Committee of the whole House on the state of the Union. He was quite severe upon the Opposition, and closed by stating that he should vote for the bill.

Mr. Fessenden replied—and after considerable debate, the Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

It is stated that 700 females committed suicide last year in France, and 2,300 men—making a total of 3,000 self-destructors.

Since the first of January last there have arrived at New York 30,727 passengers from foreign countries.

FOREIGN NEWS.

ARRIVAL OF THE CALEDONIA.

15 DAYS LATER FROM ENGLAND.

The Caledonia arrived at Boston on Saturday, from Liverpool, which place she left on the 4th; making her passage in 13 days. The C. brought 74 passengers to Halifax, landed 27 there, and took on board 6 for Boston.

The Acadia arrived home on the morning of the 29th, in ten and half days from Halifax.

The Great Western, although 16 days out, had not arrived at Bristol.

Every vestige of hope for the safety of the President had flown.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT! All England is in a ferment. Parliament was dissolved on the 22d of June, by the following speech from the Throne:

"My Lords and Gentlemen: On a full consideration of the present state of public affairs, I have come to the determination of proroguing this Parliament, with a view to its immediate dissolution.

The paramount importance of the trade and industry of the country, and my anxiety that the exigencies of the public service be provided for in the manner less burdensome to the community, have induced me to resort to the means which the Constitution has entrusted me of ascertaining the sense of my people upon the matters which so deeply concern their welfare.

I entertain the hope that the progress of public business may be facilitated, and the divisions injurious to the cause of steady policy and useful legislation may be removed by the authority of a new Parliament, which I shall direct to be summoned without delay.

[Thanks to the Commons for supplies.]

My Lords and Gentlemen: In the exercise of my prerogative I can have no other object than that of securing the rights and promoting the interests of my subjects, and relying on the co-operation of my Parliament and the loyal zeal of my people for support in the adoption of such measures as are necessary to maintain that high station among the nations of the world, which it has pleased Divine Providence to assign to this country.

The Elections are progressing with great spirit throughout the United Kingdom; but it is impossible to say which of the great political parties will triumph. Each anticipates a majority of 50; but up to the evening of the 2d, the late ministerial party had the best of it—the latest turns standing thus: Liberals 159, Conservatives 140.

Lord Palmerston has been rejected for Liverpool by a majority of 1361.

Lord John Russell has been returned for London.

FRANCE: UNSETTLED. The party adverse to the peace of Europe is again beginning to be active. The war mania is again rising; and some of Louis Philippe's Ministers show a disposition to encourage it.

PORTUGAL. The ministerial crisis has been brought to a close, and a new cabinet formed. The financial affairs of Portugal are still in a very deplorable condition.

GREECE. The island of Candia is still in arms. France indicates some intention of countenancing this movement, and King Otto has already done so.

DEATH OF MADAME CATALINA. She expired at her casino, on the banks of Lac di Como on the 20th of last month, in the 61st year of her age.

The money market, at the latest dates, was languid—the Cotton market improved.

The business in the manufacturing towns was in a low condition, and wages of operatives had been reduced—which had occasioned dissatisfaction, and turn-outs had been frequent.

The India mail had arrived, brought no definite news from China. Preparations were making in India for sending a large reinforcement to Canton.

The young Queen of Spain is said to be in a bad state of health.

THE POST OFFICE REFORM.

Mr. Grainger's "Reform" in the Post Office, seems to operate on even the Federal Editors, in any thing but a friendly way. The New World says:—

"The Post Office, since it has been under the management of the present Postmaster General is in a truly deplorable condition. Mr. Grainger may be a very good intriguing politician, a first rate abolitionist, and a great minister of state, but he is a miserable manager of the Post. The deputies, whom he has appointed, are constantly making the most vexatious blunders; and it is high time that the newspaper press should expose them."

The Boston Courier copies an announcement that there is to be no Eastern Mail hereafter, from New York, on the Sabbath, and adds:—

"We find this announcement in the Journal of Commerce of Monday, and presume it to be authentic. So we are to have no Southern mail on Monday, during the remainder of Mr. Francis Grainger's Administration—which we hope will be a short one, and the shorter the better. He was never made for any thing but a political demagogue, and owes his present position to his everlasting clamor for office—like some others who have succeeded in obtaining important places, in which they had no earthly claim, nor qualification, except their skill in the accomplished science of mendacity."

McLEOD.—A correspondent of the Journal of Commerce says, that Judge Cowan's Decision, will be sustained by nine-tenths of the bar of the State of New York, out of the city, and by a large majority of the Bar in the city. He says a majority of the People, without distinction of party, approves the decision in length and breadth.

THE BANK.—The N. Y. Journal of Commerce of Wednesday, says:—

"It is now generally conceded, we believe, that a Bank constituted according to the provisions of Mr. Clay's bill, cannot be had. If by any chance it should get through the two Houses, it would be vetoed by the President. Such, at any rate, is the prevailing belief. And what is more, the case will be the same at the next session, and for the next three and a half years; and how much longer, we cannot tell.

"Practically it makes but little difference which course is taken, so far as a Bank is concerned; for if the Cabinet bill should pass, we presume the stock would not be taken; and we have great doubts whether it would, even with such a bill as Mr. Clay's."

THE PAMPHLET.—A pamphlet faithfully detailing the rascalities of the federal majority in the last session of the Legislature, has lately been published in Augusta. Collected together, as may be supposed, their misdeeds are revolting even to the perpetrators; and thus, we find that all the federal prints are kicking against it. But, verily, it is hard to "kick against the pricks." They tremble like Belshazzar, at the fate which is shadowed forth to them; they read the "Mene, Tekel," and will find the translation correct. We wish our Augusta friends would keep the pamphlet "before the people"—let them see what sort of a serpent federalism is.—*Belfast Journal.*

HORRID ASSAULT.

We copy the following from the Philadelphia U. S. Gazette of Monday:—

"The sch. Daniel Webster, arrived at our wharves yesterday, under the command of the mate, Mr. Williams, and having in custody a man, named James Crugar, who is charged with the murder of Capt. Augustus Phelps, under the following circumstances. Jamie Crugar, his wife and four children, took passage for this city from New York, in the Daniel Webster, and during the voyage, Crugar's conduct was such, at times, as to indicate insanity. During Friday night, when outside the Capes, a heavy blow came on, and the Captain was forced to lie by until it cleared. This seemed to awaken the anger of Crugar, who spoke to the Captain in such a manner that he had to be carried below.

"The next morning the vessel proceeded on her course, and about six o'clock, the mate, who was at the wheel, remarked to the Captain, 'If you get your glass you can see the light house.' Captain P. got his glass, and was in the act of looking in the direction indicated, when Crugar came aft, picked up a sharp wood axe which was lying by the cabin, and sprang at the Captain, was in the act of striking, when the mate called out, 'My God, save yourself.' The Captain, immediately started, turned half round, and received the blow of the axe on his neck and jaw.

"The mate immediately seized Crugar, who made a most powerful resistance, tearing handfuls of hair from the mate's head, and causing great trouble before he was mastered. He was finally conquered and bound, and in this state brought to the city. A brief examination was held before the mayor, at which the evidence of Williams was given and the prisoner committed for a further hearing this morning. Upon his arrival at the prison he again became very unruly, and required some force to subdue him. The steambot Sun, which arrived yesterday afternoon at four o'clock, from Cape May, brings the information that at the time the boat left Capt. Phelps still survived, but in so low a state, as to forbid the hope of recovery."

A young lady in New York, intending to go to a ball, left her slippers behind, and in a state of mental abstraction drew on her grand-father's white topped boots. She did not perceive her mistake until she had begun to dance, and crushed a corn on her partner's toe.

A bill has been reported by the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives to provide for the support of a Home Squadron, consisting of two frigates, two sloops, two small vessels and two armed steamers.

The Augusta (Ga.) Sentinel says, that a private letter from Tallahassee mentions the death of Governor Reid, of Florida. He died on the 2d instant of congestive fever, which is said to prevail to an alarming extent in and around Tallahassee.

All earnest effort is being made in Havana, among the principal inhabitants, to put an effectual stop to the slave trade in that island.

FROM FLORIDA. The latest advices mention that 2d Lieut. J. R. H. Lancaster, of the 1st Infantry, was struck by lightning on the 6th at Chrysal river, while standing in the stern of a sail-boat, and instantly killed. Two soldiers were struck at the same time, but recovered.

ARRIVAL OF THE OHIO. The U. S. ship of the line Ohio, Commodore Hull, arrived at Boston on Saturday, 17th inst. from the Mediterranean.

AWFUL WARNING.—A man who owed the editor of the Macon Register two dollars, and told him he had no money, lost his pocket-book the same day, containing about \$1,000!!

The King of Cochín China has recently put to death ten Catholic missionaries in his dominions.

Quick.—An Express was run from Boston to New York on Saturday last, by way of Worcester, Springfield and New Haven, 247 miles, in ten hours and sixteen minutes! It carried the Foreign News.—*Argus.*

The Lincoln Patriot, after a suspension of about four months, has again made its appearance.

There are 525 Post Offices in the State of Maine.

Democratic Caucus at Buckfield!

The DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS of Buckfield will meet at the Town House on Saturday next, (31st inst.) at 5 o'clock, P. M., to choose delegates to attend the Convention to be held at Paris on the eighteenth of next month.

Per Order.

Buckfield, July 26, 1841.

MARRIED.

In this town, by Rev. Joseph Walker, Mr. Waterman T. Hewett, Esq. of Natchez, Miss., to Miss Sarah W. daughter of Col. H. R. Parsons, of this town.

In Buckfield, by Rev. G. Thomas, Mr. Joseph Harrison, of Sangersville, to Miss Clorinda Morrill, of Sumner.

In Turner, by E. Martin, Esq., Mr. Benjamin Soule to Miss Oelia Crachi, both of Turner.

Teeth! Teeth!! Teeth!!!

DR. LE-FAVOUR, Operative, Mechanical and Medical Dental Surgeon, would respectfully inform the inhabitants of Paris and vicinity that he has taken rooms at the "Mansion House," on Paris Hill, where he will be happy to receive the commands of those who need operations in "Dental Surgery." To those who have been so unfortunate as to loose their teeth, Dr. L. would say, "you can have them replaced in such a manner as to perfectly resemble nature and defy detection."

Also.—Persons having decaying TEETH can have them cleaned & filled with Gold so as to prevent further decay, and remedy an unpleasant breath, which is usually the effect of decaying teeth.

Children's teeth growing irregularly may be regulated and made to grow in "proper shape." All operations are warranted to give perfect satisfaction or no charge will be made.

Paris, July 26.

Commissioners' Notice.

THE subscribers having been appointed by the Judge of Probate for the county of Oxford, Commissioners to receive and examine the claims of the several creditors of Elijah Walker, late of Livermore in said county, deceased, whose estate is represented in an inventory, give notice that six months from the 22d day of June last are allowed said creditors to bring in and prove their claims; and that we will attend to that service at the place of the late residence of said deceased, on the second Thursday of August next, from 10 o'clock A. M. until 5 o'clock P. M.; and then will be in session at Livermore Falls at the Tavern of Nathaniel Mayo, on the second Thursday of November next, beginning and ending at the hours aforesaid.

AARON BARTON, JR. NATHANIEL MAYO. Sworn.

STATE OF MAINE.

Oxford, ss.—Western District Court, at Paris, June Term, A. D. 1841.

WILLIAM MORSE of Waterford in said county of Oxford, yeoman, Plaintiff v. William Morse, Jr. yeoman, George B. Morse, and Charlotte M. Morse, minors, all of said Waterford, and Catherine J. Morse of Portland in our county of Cumberland, single women, all the proper children and heirs at law of the late William Morse, Junr. of said Waterford, deceased.—In a plea of covenant broken, for that the said William Morse Junr. deceased, in his life time, on the twenty-third day of June, Anno Domini eighteen hundred and twenty-four, at said Paris, by his deed of that date, duly executed, acknowledged and recorded and in Court to be proved, in consideration of the sum of five hundred dollars paid him by the said plaintiff, conveyed unto the said plaintiff a certain piece of land situated and lying in Waterford aforesaid, being one half acre of land with the dwelling house thereon, whereon the plaintiff then lived. Said piece of land was to be in the form of an oblong square, bounded on the south side on the road so as to exclude the nursery. Also one undivided half in quantity and quality of all the residue and remainder of that certain parcel of land lying in Waterford aforesaid, which the said William Morse, Junr. deceased, purchased of one Enock Perry by deed dated the tenth day of April, Anno Domini eighteen hundred and twenty-three, being the north part of lot numbered three in the third Range of lots in said town of Waterford. To hold to him the said plaintiff, his heirs and assigns forever. And the said William Morse, Junr. deceased, did thereon covenant with the plaintiff, his heirs and assigns that he would warrant and defend forever the premises to him the said plaintiff his heirs and assigns against the lawful claims and demands of all persons claiming by, through or under him. And now the plaintiff in fact says that at the time of making and executing the deed aforesaid of William Morse, Junr. deceased, to the said plaintiff said premises were encumbered by a mortgage given by the said William Morse, Junr. in his life time, since deceased, to one Enock Perry aforesaid, duly acknowledged, executed and registered, and in consequence thereof the plaintiff has been ousted of the premises aforesaid, and so the plaintiff says the said William Morse, Junr. deceased, his covenant aforesaid hath not kept but hath broken the same.—To the damage of the said plaintiff, as he says, the sum of one thousand dollars.

STATE OF MAINE.

Oxford, ss.—Western District Court, June Term, A. D. 1841.

That the above action it being suggested to the Court that William Morse, Junr. one of the defendants, was out of the State at the time of the service of the original writ: Whereupon the Court order, That the plaintiff cause the said William Morse, Junr. to be notified of the pendency of this suit, by publishing an attested copy of the writ and of this order of Court thereon in the Oxford Democrat, printed at Paris in said county, three weeks successively, the last publication to be thirty days, at least, before the next term of this Court to be holden at Paris, within and for said county of Oxford, on the second Tuesday of November next, that he may then and there appear in said Court and show cause (if any he have) why judgment, in said action, should not be rendered against said defendants and execution issued accordingly.

Attest—THOMAS CLARK, Clerk.

A true copy, Attest—THOMAS CLARK, Clerk.

Dissolution of Copartnership.

THE Copartnership heretofore existing under the name of **SELAW & HOWE,** is this day dissolved, by mutual consent. All claims are to be settled by Eli Howe, who continues the business at the old stand, where he requests those who are indebted to call and pay;—as also those who have any claims on the late Firm to call and receive their pay.

E. C. SHAW, ELI HOWE. Sworn.

Paris, June 25, 1841.

For sale at this Office.

[CONTINUED FROM SECOND PAGE.]

Sir, I consider the instructions to Mr. Crittenden as most unfortunate and deplorable. They have sunk the national character in the eyes of England and of Europe. They have lost us the respect which we gained by the late war, and by the glorious administration of Jackson. They bring us into contempt, and encourage the haughty British to push us to extremities. We shall feel the effect of this deplorable diplomacy in our impending controversies with that people; and happy and fortunate it will be for us if, by correcting our error, retracing our steps, recovering our manly attitude, discarding our distribution schemes, and preparing for war, we shall be able thereby to prevent war, and to preserve our rights.

I have never believed our English difficulties free from danger. I have not spoken upon the Northeastern question but the Senator from that State who sits on my right (looking at Senator Williams) knows my opinion. He knows that I have long believed that nothing could save the rights of Maine but the war countenance of our Government. Preparation for war might prevent war, and save the rights of the State. This has been my opinion; and to that point have all my labors tended. I have avoided speeches; I have opposed all distributions of land money; I have gone for ships, forts and cannon—the *ultima ratio* of Republics as well as kings. I go for them now and declare it as my opinion that the only way to obtain our rights, and to avoid natural war with England, is to convert our public lands and surplus revenue, when we have it, into cannon, ships, and forts.

Hard pressed on the instructions to Mr. Crittenden—prostrate and defenceless take the gentlemen on the other side there refuge under the letter to Mr. Fox, and celebrate the harmony of its periods, and the beauty of its composition. I grant its merit in these particulars. I admit the beauty of the style, though attenuated into gossamer thinness and lilliputian weakness. I agree that the Secretary writes well. I admit his ability even to compose a prettier letter in less than forty days. But what has all this to do with the question of right and wrong—of honor and shame—of war and peace—with a foreign Government? In a contest of rhetoricians, it would indeed be important; but in the contests of nations it dwindles into insignificance. The statesman wants knowledge, firmness, patriotism, and invincible adherence to the rights, honor, and interests of his country. These are the characteristics of the statesman; and tried by these tests, what becomes of this letter, so encomiastically dwelt upon here? Its knowledge is shown by a mistake of the law of nations—its firmness, by yielding to a threat—its patriotism, by taking the part of foreigners—its adherence to the honor, rights and interests of our own country, by surrendering McLeod without receiving, or even demanding, one word of address or apology for the outrage on the Caroline!

This letter, besides its fatal concessions, deficient in many tones—in American feeling, in nerve—in force—in resentment of injuries imputations—and in enforcement of our just claims to redress for blood spilt, territory invaded, and flag insulted.

The whole spirit of the letter is feeble and deprecatory. It does not repeat, but begs off. It does not recriminate, but defends. It does not resent insult—not even the audacious threat—which is never once complained of, nor even alluded to.

This letter is every way an unfortunate production. It does not even show the expense and trouble we took to prevent our citizens from crossing the line and joining the Canadian insurgents. It does not show the expense we were at in raising a new regiment of infantry expressly for that service, (several voices said yes, it mentions that.) Good, let it be credited accordingly. But it does not mention the appropriation of \$650,000 made at one time for that object: it does not mention the numerous calls upon the militia authority and the civil authorities along the line to assist in restraining our people; it does not mention the arrests of persons, and seizures of arms, which we made; it does not mention the prosecution, which we instituted; it does not show that for two years we were at great expense and trouble to restrain our people; and that this expense and trouble was brought on us by the excitement produced by the affair of the Caroline. The British brought us an immense expense by that affair for which they render us no thanks, and the Secretary fails to remind them. The letter does not repel, with the indignant energy which the declaration required, that we had "permitted" our citizens to arm and join the insurgents. It repels it, to be sure, but too feebly and gently, and it omits altogether what should never be lost sight of in this case, that the British have taken great vengeance on our people for their rashness in joining this revolt. Great numbers of them were killed in action; many were hanged; and many were transported to the remotest of the world—to Van Diemen's land, under the antarctic circle—where they pine out a miserable existence, far far, and forever removed from kindred, home and friends.

The faults of the letter are fundamental and radical—such as no beauty of composition, no tropes and figures, no flowers of rhetoric, can balance or gloss over. The objections go to its spirit and substance—to errors of fact and law—to its tameness and timidity—and to its total omission to demand redress from the British Government for the outrage on the Caroline, which that Government has now assumed. She has now assumed that outrage for the first time—assumed it after three years of

silence, and in the assumption, offers not one word of apology or of consolation to our wounded feelings. She claps her arms akimbo, and avows the offence; and our Secretary, in his long and beautiful letter, finds no place to insert a demand for this assumed outrage. He gives up the subject, and demands nothing of the sovereign. He lets go the servant, and does not lay hold of the master. This is a grievous omission. It is tantamount to a surrender of all claim for any redress of any kind. McLeod, the perpetrator, is given up; he is given up without conditions. The English Government assume this offence—demand his release—offer us no satisfaction, and we give him up, and ask no satisfaction! The letter demands nothing—literally nothing; and in that respect degrades us as much as the surrender under a threat had degraded us.

This is a most material point, and I mean to make it clear. I mean to show that the Secretary, in giving up the alleged instrument, has demanded nothing from the assuming superior; and thus I will do him the justice to show, by reading from his own letter. I have examined it carefully, and can find but two places where the slightest approach is made, not even to a demand for redress, but to the suggestion of an intimation of a wish on our side ever to hear the name of the Caroline mentioned again. These two places are on the two concluding pages of the letter. If there are others, let gentlemen point them out, and they shall be read. The two paragraphs I discover are these:—

"The undersigned trusts, that when Her Britannic Majesty's Government shall present the grounds, at length, on which they justify the local authorities of Canada, in attacking and destroying the 'Caroline,' they will consider that the laws of the United States are such as the undersigned has now represented them, and that the Government of the United States has always manifested a sincere disposition to see those laws effectually administered. If there have been cases in which individuals, justly obnoxious to punishment, have escaped, this is no more than happens in regard to other laws."

"The President instructs the undersigned to say in conclusion, that he confidently trusts that this, and all other questions of difference between the two Governments, will be treated by both in the full exercise of such a spirit of candor, justice, and mutual respect, as shall give assurance of long continuance of peace between the two countries."

This is all that I can see that looks to the possible contingency of any future allusion to the case of the Caroline. Certainly nothing could be a more complete abandonment of our claim to redress. The first paragraph goes no further than to "trust" that the grounds may be presented which "justify"—a strange word in such a case—the local authorities in attacking and destroying this vessel; and the second buries it all up, by deferring it to the general and peaceful settlement of all other questions and differences between the two countries. Certainly this is a farewell salutation to the whole affair. It is the parting word, and is evidently so understood by the British Ministry. They have taken no notice of this beautiful letter; they have returned no answer to it, nor even acknowledged its receipt. The Ministry, the Parliament, and the Press in England, profess themselves satisfied. They cease to speak of the affair; and the miserable Caroline, plunging in flames over the frightful carcass, the living and the dead on board, is treated as a gone-by procession, which has lost its interest forever.

It is in vain for gentlemen to point to the paragraph, so powerfully drawn, which paints the destruction of this vessel, and the slaughter of the innocent as well as the guilty asleep on board of her. That paragraph aggravates the demerit of the letter; for, after so well showing the enormity of the wrong, and our just title to redress, it abandons the case without requiring the slightest atonement!

But gentlemen point to a phrase in the letter and quote it with triumph, as showing courage and fight in our Secretary. They point to the phrase "bloody and exasperated war," and consider this phrase, as a cure for every defect. But how did Mr. Fox consider it as a thing to quicken him, or the British Government, as an inducement or stimulus to hasten an atonement for the outrage which they had assumed? Not at all. Far from it. Mr. Fox did not take fright and answer it in two days, nor in forty; nor has he answered yet; nor will he ever answer while such gentle epistles are written to him. The "bloody and exasperated war," which is here shadowed forth, is too feebly and pointlessly exhibited to make any impression on the minds of the English and their minister. Besides the capital defect of not stating on what fourth day of July the alleged "bloody and exasperated war" will chance to begin, it happens also, to be totally defective in not stating the contingency on which it is to happen. It is not said, that, if you do not make redress for the outrage you have assumed—if we do not get satisfaction for this wrong—or, if you ever do so again—then and in that case this war of blood and rage will break out. Nothing of this nor any thing pointed or tangible, is said in the letter, but only a vague intimation that such occurrence might lead to this war. The little effect which it had upon the mind of the minister, and his Government, is shown by the silent contempt with which they have treated it. This famous letter was written on the 24th day of April; this is June, and to this day no answer has been given to it! Its receipt has not even been acknowledged!

Unfortunate as this boasted letter is in so many respects, it has a further sin to answer for and that is its place, or order—its collocation in the printed document which is laid before us, and in the assumption to enclose the "instructions" to Mr. Fox which had been enclosed to him forty days before. The letter is printed before the "instructions," though written forty days after them, and purports to "enclose" what had so long before been delivered. To be sure all the papers are correctly dated;

and the close observer may perceive the order they ought to take and that, in fact, they come to us wrong end foremost. There may be some scenic contrivance—some stage trick in this; but it is according to the new tactics—the tactics which put the part before the horse and repels one financial system before another is established.

Sir, the case of McLeod is not isolated; it is not a solitary atom, standing by itself; but it is a feature in a large picture—a link in a long chain. It connects itself with all the aggressive conduct of England towards this country: her encroachments on the State of Maine; her occupation of our territory on the Oregon—her insolence in searching our vessels on the coast of Africa—the confiscation of our slaves, wrecked on her islands, in their transit from one port of our country to another—her latching in London for our Southern States what was hatched there above forty years ago for Domingo, the insurrection of our slaves and the destruction of their owners—and the ominous insinuations that the Union is bound for the debts of the States. The McLeod case mixes itself with the whole of these; and the success which has attended British threats in his case may bring us threats in all cases, and blows to back them—such blows as the towns of Syria lately received from the war steamers of Stioford and Napier.

The British are a great people—a wonderful people—and can perform as well as threaten. Occupying an island no larger than one of our principal States, they have taken possession of the commanding points in the four quarters of the globe, and predominate over an extent of land and water compared to which the greatest of empires—that of Alexander—that of the Romans—that of the Caliphs—was nothing but a digit. War is to them a distant occupation. Something like piracy on a vast scale, in which their fleets go forth to capture and destroy, and to return loaded with the spoils of plundered nations. Since the time of William the Conqueror, no hostile foot has trod their soil; and, safe thus far from the ravages of war at home, they are more ready to engage in ravages abroad. To strike—to crush—to plunder—to terrify—and to make peace—is their policy and their practice; and they look upon us, with our rich towns and defenceless coasts, as a fit subject for these compendious tactics. We all deprecate a war with that people—none deprecate it more than I do; but we shall never prevent it by truckling to their threats, and squandering the money in *douceurs* to the States which ought to go to the common defence. The result of our first war with this people, shows what we could do, when only the fifth of our present numbers, in a seven years' contest. The result of the second one shows that, at the end of two years, we can learn to fight—can get our hands in, and begin to conquer—and, in the event of a third war, we to the statesman whose timid tongue shall cry for peace at the end of two years! We shall then just be getting ready to conquer; and two or three years more may give us the victories which will secure to us peace in all time to come.

The Americans are among the bravest people of the earth, and there is nothing which mortals dare which they will not attempt when bravely led. Their war history is yet in the womb of time. Peace is their policy; but, if much enforced, they shrink not from war. Defence is their first object; but they know how to return visits as well as to receive them. Of all the nations of the earth, the Americans are people to land on the coasts of England and Ireland. The visits of kindred have sympathies and affections that books and laws cannot control.

As an American citizen, anxious for the peace and prosperity of my country, I do entreat this Administration to retrace its steps—to change its policy—to give up its plans of distribution, and of a paper money currency, to fail in the first year of a war—and to give us ships, forts, and cannon, and the hard money currency which our Constitution guarantees, and which the history of the world shows to be the only safe currency for individuals, or for nations, in peace or in war.

DR. SEARS' UNIVERSAL SANGUINARIAN, Or: Blood-Root Pills.

THESE truly Vegetable Pills are eminently useful in all cases where a purgative is required. They operate more gently and more safely than any other purgative ever before offered to the public. They consequently are the best, which is the natural Physic of the system at liberty, thus removing constipation, curing Dyspepsia, liver complaint, indigestion, Dropsy, and all other diseases which depend on an impure state of the BLOOD. In point of economy as well as efficacy, these Pills are without a rival as the price for a box of thirty pills is only ten cents. They are warranted to be composed of the very best materials. For certificates of cures and further particulars see bill of directions, which accompanies each box.

All persons who sell the genuine article will be furnished with a Certificate of Agency signed by the proprietor in his own hand writing.

All orders and communications may be directed to BLAS DEL & THURSTON, East Thimston, the present proprietors.

AGENTS for the BLOOD-ROOT PILLS in Oxford County:

HIRAM HUBBARD, and THOMAS CROCKER, Paris Hill; O. H. Paine, South Paris; L. Washburn, North Paris; W. E. Goodnow, Norway; L. S. Bonjap, and S. Myrick, Lebanon; O. Taylor, Oxford; J. H. Wainwright, Randolph Center; G. C. Butler, Randolph Point; Graham, Randolph; J. C. Kimball, Bethel Hill; J. W. Stephens, Greenwood; C. Locke, Sumner; Wm. Walker, Paris; A. Cole & Co., Buckfield; T. Clark, Mitchell & Bradford, Turners; J. M. Dehnen, Canton; J. Conlidge, A. Halls, and L. Waterman, Livermore; C. H. Crafts, Minot.

Notice.

WHEREAS my son, John Tucker, a minor, has left me without my consent, this is to forbid all persons from harboring or trusting him on my account, as I shall not pay any debt of his contracting after this date.

JOHN TUCKER.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the 4th Tuesday of June, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-one.

ALBERT WINSHIP, Administrator of the estate of Isaac Leavitt, Jr., late of Turner, in said County, deceased, having presented his first account of administration of the estate of said deceased, also the petition of the widow for an allowance out of said deceased's personal estate:

Ordered, That the said administrator give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be held at Turner, in said County, on the 23d day of September next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and show cause, if any they have, why the same should not be allowed.

LYMAN RAWSON, Judge.

Sw10 Copy Attest—John Goodnow, Register.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the fourth Tuesday of June, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-one.

ON the petition of Elbridge G. Hall, Administrator of the estate of Jonathan Abbott, late of Andover, in said County, deceased, praying for a license to sell and convey the whole of the real estate of said deceased:

Ordered, That the said petitioner give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be held at Randolph, on the 20th day of September next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and show cause, if any they have, why the same should not be allowed.

LYMAN RAWSON, Judge.

Sw10 A true Copy Attest—John Goodnow, Register.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the 4th Tuesday of June in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-one.

SAMUEL F. BROWN, Administrator of the estate of Lewis Dwyer, late of Buckfield, in said County, deceased, having presented his first account of administration of the estate of said deceased:

Ordered, That the said Administrator give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be held at Fryburg, in said County, on the 1st Tuesday of August next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and show cause, if any they have, why the same should not be allowed.

LYMAN RAWSON, Judge.

Sw10 Copy Attest—John Goodnow, Register.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris within and for the County of Oxford on the fourth Tuesday of June in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-one.

JOSIAH DUNLEY, Guardian of Charles and Eveline Dudley, minor children of Moses Dudley, late of Paris, in said County, deceased, having presented his first account of Guardianship of the estate of said wards:

Ordered, That the said Guardian give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be held at Paris, in said County, on the 23d day of September next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and show cause, if any they have, why the same should not be allowed.

LYMAN RAWSON, Judge.

Sw11 A true Copy Attest—John Goodnow, Register.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the 4th Tuesday of June in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-one.

JOB PRINCE, Administrator of the estate of Harriett Jones, late of Turner, in said County, deceased, having presented his first account of administration of the estate of said deceased, also the petition of the widow for an allowance out of the personal estate of said deceased:

Ordered, That the said Administrator give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be held at Turner, in said County, on the 23d day of September next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and show cause, if any they have, why the same should not be allowed.

LYMAN RAWSON, Judge.

Sw11 A true Copy Attest—John Goodnow, Register.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the 4th Tuesday of June in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-one.

JOB PRINCE, Administrator of the estate of James Phillips, late of Turner, in said County, deceased, having presented his first account of administration of the estate of said deceased:

Ordered, That the said Administrator give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be held at Paris, in said County, on the 23d day of September next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and show cause, if any they have, why the same should not be allowed.

LYMAN RAWSON, Judge.

Sw11 A true Copy Attest—John Goodnow, Register.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the 4th Tuesday of June in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-one.

JOB PRINCE, Administrator of the estate of James Phillips, late of Turner, in said County, deceased, having presented his first account of administration of the estate of said deceased:

Ordered, That the said Administrator give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be held at Paris, in said County, on the 23d day of September next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and show cause, if any they have, why the same should not be allowed.

LYMAN RAWSON, Judge.

Sw11 A true Copy Attest—John Goodnow, Register.

THE RESURRECTION, OR PERSIAN PILLS.

THESE Pills rise from the greatest weakness, distress and suffering, to a state of strength, health, and happiness. The name of these pills originated from the circumstance of the most fine being found only in the countries of Persia. This vegetable production being of a peculiar kind, led to experiments to its medicinal qualities and virtues. In half a century it became an established medicine for the disease of that country. The extract of this singular production was introduced into some parts of Europe in the year 1782, and used by many celebrated physicians in curing certain diseases, where all other medicines had been used in vain. Early in the year 1792, the extract was combined with a certain vegetable medicine imported from Dura Bues, in the East Indies, and formed into pills. The admirable effect of this compound upon the human system, led physicians and families into its general use. Their long established character, their universal and healing virtues, the detergent and cleansing qualities of their special action upon the glandular part of the system, are such as will maintain their reputation and general use in the American Republic.

TO MOTHERS.

MEANS. E. Chase & Co. GENTS.—Hearing much said about the extraordinary effects of the Resurrection, or Persian Pills, upon those about to become Mothers, we were induced to make a trial of them. My wife was at that time the mother of five children, and had suffered the most tedious and excruciating pains during and after her confinement of each. She had tried every remedy, and taken much medicine, but found little or no relief. She conceived taking the Persian Pills about three months before her confinement, her health being very poor almost that length of time previous, and soon after was enabled, by their use, to attend to the care of a mother to her family, until her confinement. At the time she commenced taking the Persian Pills, and for several weeks previous, she was afflicted with a dry, hard cough, and frequent severe cramps, which the use of the Pills entirely removed, before using half a box. It is with great confidence that we advise all the about to become mothers, to make use of the Persian Pills. All those who have taken them in our neighborhood, have got along in the same easy manner, and are about house in a few days. There does not appear to be half the danger of other difficulties eating in after confinement, where these Pills are taken. We would say, let none neglect taking them, for they are in the reach of the poor as well as the rich. We are truly thankful that there is a remedy which bids fair to lessen the world of suffering, which many of them have in heart, and perhaps save the lives of thousands which otherwise would be lost.

Hochester, May 14, 1838: corner of Calcutta square, Elm-burgh street. For further particulars, see subscribers. S. ROBERTS.

General office of the United States, E. CHASE & CO., Rochester, N. Y.

General Agent for the State of Maine, SAMUEL ADAMS, Hallowell.

For sale by THOMAS CROCKER, Paris; HUBBARD & CLARK, South Paris; A. F. Cole & Co., Buckfield; W. H. Bretton, Livermore; Geo. Gale, Wilton; Stephen M. Maile, Poland; Nathaniel Perley, Gray Corner; John Higgins, P. M., Porter; Sewall Fly, Hiram; H. C. Russell, Fryburg; Nehemiah Winslow, Windham (Upper Corner) copy 1

HEBRON ACADEMY.

THE Second Term in Hebron Academy will commence, Providence permitting, on Wednesday, the fourth day of August next, under the care of Mr. Oza Millet, who has taught the school for several years past. This institution is furnished with a convenient apparatus for making experiments in Chemistry, and for illustrations in Astronomy; and also a variety of specimens to aid in the study of Mineralogy. The price of tuition, \$3.50 for a quarter. For a term less than twelve weeks, twenty-five cents for a week. Students may depend upon all the attention from the teachers and preceptor, that is practicable.

JOHN TRIPP, Secretary. July 3, 1841.

PURSUANT to a license from the Judge of Probate for the County of Oxford, I shall sell at Public Auction, on Saturday the 7th day of August next, at one o'clock, P. M. at the dwelling house of Eleazar Bryant, late of South Paris, deceased, the whole of the real estate of which said Bryant possessed at his decease, consisting of about one and a half acres of land, out-houses and barn, very pleasantly situated in South Paris Village, about thirty rods east of the Factory, together with one new in the Methodist Meeting House in South Paris. A long credit, with undoubted security, will be given if required.

JAMES DEARING, Last Will and Testament of said Bryant.

South Paris, July 5, 1841.

LEWIS STOWELL, COUNSELLOR AT LAW.

HAS opened an Office in the Court House on Paris Hill, where &c. Paris, June 12, 1841.

MILITARY CAMPS & KNAPSACKS,

OF latest improved pattern made to order, at short notice, by WILSON & TURNER, Portland, Me.

10,000 lbs. WOOL.

WANTED BY THE SUBSCRIBERS, 10,000 lbs. CLEAN FLEECE WOOL.

For which Cash and the highest Market price will be paid, if delivered soon at our Store in Morton's Building, Congress Street.

BUTTERFIELD & SMALL.

JUST received a complete assortment of W. L. GOODS & GROCERIES, which they offer at wholesale and retail in exchange for LUMBER or approved credit. Portland, June 21, 1840.

ADMINISTRATRIX'S SALE.

BY virtue of License obtained from the Court of Probate for the County of Oxford, I shall sell at public Vendue all the real estate of Chandler Cushman, late of Paris in said County, deceased, for the purpose of paying the debts of said deceased.

Sale at the dwelling house of the subscriber in Paris on the twenty-first day of August next at one o'clock P. M. MARY CUSHMAN Administratrix.

Paris, July 17, 1841.

NOTICE.—Came into the enclosure of the subscribers on the seventh instant 2 two years old Heifers, of a bright red colour. The owner is requested to prove property, pay charges and take them away.

A. RYSON. N. BARNES. Summer, July 15, 1841.

NOTICE OF FORECLOSURE.

WHEREAS Alexander Nelson, of Livermore, in the County of Oxford, duly executed to me, the subscriber, of Bridgton, County of Cumberland, a mortgage of certain real estate situated in Livermore, which premises are particularly described in and mortgaged dated August 1st, 1836, and recorded in the Oxford Registry of Deeds, Book 49, page 419, for which reference is had. And whereas said Nelson has broken the conditions in said mortgage, I hereby claim to have possession of said mortgaged premises, and to foreclose the same.

LUKE BROWN. Bridgton, July 20, 1841.

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